



# LETTERS

## INTEGRATION OF INDIANS

In line with my article on the Indian question (Oct. 61 *COMMUNITY*) you quoted Father Grzeskowiak: "that the federal government [should] cease building all-Indian schools on Indian reservations . . . [and] provide transportation to nearby towns having public schools, or send the children to Catholic boarding schools."

This illustrates how one's viewpoint may vary according to the tribes one has in mind. Most Indian tribes today number only around 1200 or 1500, or less; and for some of these the problem of integration is far more urgent than with the Navajos. The Navajos are not nearly in so demoralized a condition as some other tribes, such as the Yakima in Washington (recently featured in the Congressional Record).

Further, transporting the children of such tribes, to nearby towns would not be 8-9-14, Metro., Book, Fr., 10 Metro. . . nearly the problem that it would be with the Navajos, who have around 28,000 children of school age, many of whom would have to be transported 75 or 100 miles to get to some town. Sending them to board-

ing schools (from first grade on up) off the reservation is hardly a wholesome situation, aside from the question of wholesale abandonment of extensive school plants now on the reservation. Besides, what would it necessarily accomplish, if most of the children return to the reservation, as they still do? Until all the Indians, parents as well as children, can be taken away from the reservation and integrated into off-reservation life, I see no real solution.

As far as the Navajos are concerned, I think it would be desirable if they could maintain their traditional culture as far as possible, while making the necessary adaptations to modern progress. But whether this is either economically or sociologically possible at this date is more than dubious.

FR. CARTER PARTER, O.F.M.  
Blanco, New Mexico

## EXCELLENT JOURNALISM

I returned from my vacation just a few days ago and have been reading the latest issues of *COMMUNITY* with great interest. I believe that they are exhibits of excellent journalism.

HANS ADLER  
Chicago, Illinois



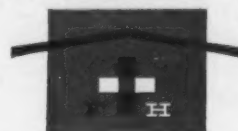
Drop down dew,  
ye heavens, from  
above, and let  
the clouds rain  
the just: let the  
earth be opened  
and bud forth  
a Saviour.

(Isa. xlv, 8.)

Greetings of the Advent-Christmas-Epiphany Season from *COMMUNITY*

# COMMUNITY

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# To begin with . . .

By Mary Clinch

MORRIS MILGRAM, president of the first lender-manager-builder firm for integrated middle-income housing, went to Pittsburgh in 1956 to address leaders of the housing industry there. His explanation of his method of building profitable "controlled occupancy" subdivisions led the Pittsburgh lenders and builders to try it themselves. The resulting Calumet Corporation described in George Culberson's article in this issue, was formed to build new homes, some of them available to Negro buyers.

The Milgram method was greeted with much less enthusiasm when it was tried in the Chicago metropolitan area, in the suburb of Deerfield, by his firm's subsidiary, Progress Development Corporation. In Mr. McGovern's story on Tony and Mariellen Sabato of Deerfield, we are struck by the general lack of receptiveness in the Chicago area for integrated housing.

Deerfield's story is still unfolding in federal and state courts. If Progress can survive having its funds tied up until it wins these cases, the development at Deerfield can be built with a percentage (20 or so) of the homes available to Negro buyers.

The contrast between the Deerfield and the Pittsburgh story is very strong, but both plans have in common one thing: quotas.

Many who favor integrated housing oppose any quota plan. It is, they say, an unjust abridgement of a Negro buyer's freedom, for if ten homes in a development are available to Negroes and if 15 Negroes try to buy them, five are going to suffer.

These critics have a point, but there are other points to consider, too:

1. In ordinary new housing developments in "white" areas, none of the 15 Negroes could buy a home. Although it is never admitted openly, there IS a Negro quota in these developments: zero.

2. Denied opportunity for new housing, middle class Negroes in undue numbers seek housing the only place they can—on the fringes of the ghetto. This leads to "flooding."

3. When this flooding begins, most whites in the neighborhood are panicked. They use their unabridged freedom to move, and out they go, in wholesale lots—thereby speeding up the flooding.

This panic and the "rush for the exits" are also helped along, of course, by real estate speculators who are ready in the wings with quick cash for the white seller and a quicker resale, at another profit, to the Negro buyer. They are able to do this because reputable lending institutions withhold mortgage money (to Negroes and whites) in changing areas. The social and economic safeguards for the community, keeping out unqualified buyers, which responsible lending institutions give, thus do not operate.

It does little good to explain to whites in other communities that one sale to a Negro NEED not begin the flooding. Their experience has been that it *does*, and few look beyond to see why or to realize that these situations are largely of the white's own making.

Nor does a quota plan always solve the problem of white fears—as the Deerfield experience seems to show.

What *does* help, then? Can anything be done to halt creeping segregation, the steady extension of Negro ghettos?

Here at Friendship House we have found it helpful to create a controlled situation in which whites can without fear discuss questions on race with Negroes who are their socio-economic counterparts. We have arranged such "situations" for over 1,000 whites in our Educational Home Visits, familiar to COMMUNITY readers. Even this few hours' experience gives the whites a new outlook on the rights and hopes of Negroes.

This same experience also can occur in interracial neighborhoods. Many whites who delayed fleeing from a changing area (whether from choice or not) have found as they came to know their new neighbors that they were good neighbors—and that most of their own fears were baseless. It could certainly be expected to happen in a suburb like Deerfield with the new Negro arrivals limited in number and restricted to the economically secure. All the more regret, then, that it has not been permitted to occur. ■



Concerning Tony and Mariellen Sabato, whose "story of courage and conviction" is typical of those "few Deerfield citizens who resisted the general tide"

## The Untold

**M**ORE THAN two years have passed since Progress Development Corporation broke ground for the construction of 51 homes in suburban Deerfield, Illinois, north of Chicago. Only two model homes were ever built.

MR. MCGOVERN is a Jesuit seminarian studying at West Baden College in Indiana. He met the Sabatos, who were speakers, at a Friendship House Interracial Weekend last year, and he returned for another FH Weekend this year and interviewed the Sabatos at their home.

The plans had called for attractive, \$30,000 structures which could take their place as a welcome part of the ever-expanding American dream of suburbia. But the builders had dared something new which threatened the accepted pattern of suburbia. They intended to include 10 or 12 Negro families among their buyers.

The Deerfield community had other thoughts. Deerfield had no Negroes; it wanted none; and it certainly resented the fact that no mention was made of Negroes when the

project began. So Deerfield voters set things straight and passed a bond issue to take the land for a park, although twice before that year the village had voted down bond issues for parks. The suburb rests easy today, untroubled by Negroes in its midst and complacent that federal and state court cases will not change the situation.

Such is the story of Deerfield, an account familiar to *COMMUNITY* readers and to other newspaper and magazine subscribers throughout the country.

BELOW: Two houses under construction (center) are Progress Development Corporation's model homes in Deerfield.

RIGHT: Home in another interracial development, Princeton, New Jersey.



# Story of Deerfield

by Arthur F. McGovern, S.J.

In all of this, the Catholics of Deerfield (3,000 or more of the total 11,000 population) did little as a group to distinguish themselves from their neighbors. Deerfield community failed as a whole, and the Catholics of the community failed with it. (In defense of the suburb it can unfortunately be said that Deerfield probably acted no differently than most American communities would have, if confronted with the same situation.)

But to Deerfield's great credit the narrative is not complete. Left untold is a story of courage and conviction that gives promise of what the future might be, the story of a few Deerfield citizens who resisted the general tide.

One couple of that small group were Catholics. Their story, typical of the group, also tells what lay Catholicism should and can be. If Deerfield's Catholics failed as a whole, they can still point proudly to real Catholics in their midst—to Tony and Mariellen Sabato.

**T**HE FIRST news of the proposed integration two years ago took Tony and Mariellen as much by surprise as it did the rest of the Deerfield community. In the late summer of 1959, the Progress Development Corporation had decided on Deerfield as the best location for its development. Work began on the first homes in the early fall. The Corporation planned carefully the way it would propose its intended integration, following a pattern that had worked successfully in a suburb of Philadelphia and in other cities. The builders planned first to announce the integration to community leaders to win their support, then to notify the public in ensuing months. Once

the attractive homes were built, they should themselves offset any imagined fears of "cheapening" the suburb.

But the plan never left the launching pad in Deerfield. One of the community leaders, a minister, leaked the news about the integration to his lay board. With that, the news, often in distorted versions, spread like wildfire through the community. "The builders have deceived us" went the cry, and this slogan gave the impetus and rationalization needed to slash hopes for the project's success.

Tony and Mariellen first heard these by-now-substantiated rumors on November 13. Prior to this they had given no special thought to integration in Deerfield. But they sensed the rising opposition, and their own positive response came swiftly and spontaneously.

Their first move was to contact the Catholic Interracial Council in Chicago since by happy coincidence Mariellen's brother-in-law, Mathew Ahmann, was executive director of the CIC. The CIC promised its assistance. The Sabatos then called their pastor asking, without success, for his support. Then came the steady work of calling friends and fellow parishioners to enlist backing and active help. Some, like the Springers and Bensons, responded favorably. Most did not. "In the beginning we were rather naive. We thought most people were pretty Christian." That same day the Deerfield Building Commissioner ordered all work on the model homes stopped. The battle for acceptance or rejection of integration was on.

On November 15, national officers of Modern Community Developers (of which the PCD was a subsidi-

ary) met with Protestant clergy members and Deerfield residents. Tony attended the meeting—the only Catholic to do so. But opposition grew at a faster pace. The Village Board met first to propose and then to adopt a petition to the Deerfield Park Board calling for condemnation of the land for use as a park.

Tony and Mariellen stepped up their own activity in the meantime. They made their own home the center for a meeting of some 30 generally sympathetic Deerfield residents. The Sabatos arranged for members of the North Shore Human Relations Council to conduct the meeting and to answer questions and ease fears about the housing project. Of the 30 present only the Sabatos were Catholics. Catholics contacted sent their polite regrets.

In the ensuing days, Tony and Mariellen

## helped lay plans for formation of

the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights, and continued to work for the support of Catholics and others in the community.

On November 24 community tension reached a dramatic high point. The village board called a public meeting to hear "both sides of the story." Any doubt as to which side would prevail were quickly dispelled. A non-Deerfield resident, Harold Lewis, took the stage and led an opening 15-minute rally of opposition to the proposed integrated housing. Those favoring the housing got their chance to speak. But they risked derision in facing a basically hostile assembly. One Quaker woman who favored integration said after the meeting: "Now I know how the early settlers must have felt when

they were locked in stocks to be sneered at and spat on by their friends and neighbors."

As the tension of the meeting grew, it became evident that no Catholic spokesman seemed willing to speak in behalf of the integrated housing. So Mariellen Sabato made an on-the-spot decision. She took the podium. Her words failed to sway the crowd and she cried as she spoke. But she had made her plea for fairness—the only Catholic voice to be heard.

ON THE SAME day professional assistance came to bolster the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights. Mary Dolan of Friendship House arrived to work. In the weeks that followed Mary gave herself full time to help DCHR uphold the right of a builder to sell to any qualified buyer.

Tony and Mariellen continued their work of trying to dispose favorably their fellow Catholic parishoners. Mariellen brought her arguments and an armful of racial material to an Altar and Rosary meeting. Tony made his bid with similar material at a K. of C. meeting in December. Response continued to be

of these families met with the Sabatos to discuss the integration problem with Mathew Ahmann of CIC, Father John M. Hayes of Chicago, and Dr. Paul Mundy of Loyola University.

Then in a final but unsuccessful bid, Tony and Mariellen made 50 last minute phone calls to ask for a "No" vote on the referendum which would condemn the building site for park use. (Their phone bill jumped \$15.00 a month during this period.) The vote went two to one in favor of condemning the land, thus defeating the proposed integrated housing. A partial estimate of the Sabatos' and like-minded residents' success can be judged from the fact that an earlier poll had estimated opposition as high as nine to one.

But in final analysis, Deerfield remained closed to all Negroes. In their prime objective, then, the Sabatos could feel only the futility and frustration of failure. Especially disheartening was their inability to awaken more support from their own fellow Catholics. After all, the bishops of the United States had devoted their annual letter of the previous year to Christian attitudes in race relations. Also every Catholic

ment about "deceit" on the builders' part had been absent, the people would have reacted favorably to the idea of integration.

But the problem lies deeper than this, and it extends beyond the limits of racial problems and beyond the boundaries of Deerfield. Shoddy business ethics among Catholics, the sparseness of Catholic intellectuals, the lack of community consciousness in general—all coalesce into the same pattern, and few Catholic communities escape the censure. (In Detroit a sociological study made recently showed that fewer than five per cent of the board members on civic advisory and promotional groups are Catholic.)

DEERFIELD, then, is not unique. Its story might well have been the story of any city or suburban community in the United States. But happily, the Sabato story is not unique either. Everywhere in the United States, young, dedicated, "fully Catholic" families are flowering. The attitude which sets off such Catholics is perhaps best expressed in the Sabatos' own words: "If you are committed to Catholicism, you are committed to everything"—to racial justice, to fairness in business, to concern for one's community, to bringing Christ to the modern world.

A visit to the Sabato household on Stratford Road in Deerfield witnesses to this basic attitude more convincingly than words. A crucifix above the mantle? Yes—but also copies of *America*, *The Commonweal*, *COMMUNITY*, and *Jubilee* on the table below, and a number of Catholic books on a shelf nearby. (Among the books: an imposing tome on Canon Law which serves Tony as a helpmate in his now three-year-old apostolate of teaching catechism to public high school students.)

But with all this, Tony and Mariellen's love centers, at it should, on the seven-fold pride and joy of their lives: Joanne, 11; Frank, 8; David, 7; Toni, 5; Rita, 3; Monica, 2; and brand new (October 20) Daniel. One brief visit convinced this reporter that the pride is well placed. This household apostolate has necessarily curtailed Mariellen's work for the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights. But she can point with satisfaction now to three Catholic friends, Mrs. Mildred Springer, Mr. Joe



Concord Park Homes in Trevose, Pennsylvania, another interracial development by Modern Community Developers

negative in many instances, but small, clearly perceptible changes came to light. The K. of C. meeting proved especially effective. Father Kelty (then SVD now OCSO), Council chaplain, explained fully the Catholic position on race relations. This led at least to the withdrawal of several Catholics from the racist North Shore Residents group.

By mid-December the Sabatos could count on the sympathy and active support of a half-dozen Catholic families in Deerfield. Four

had at least heard of the Mystical Body and ought to have recognized its implications. And if these failed to reach Catholics, Christ's own response to the question "Lord, who is my neighbor?" in the story of the Good Samaritan should have evoked a response in the minds and hearts of all Catholics. Perhaps it can be argued that the Catholics of Deerfield would have responded differently had their pastor committed himself with some kind of stand on the matter. Or perhaps if the argu-



Houlihan, and Mr. Jack Kammerer, who are serving as officers, and to Mrs. Rita Benson on the nominating board. Tony has taken on a perhaps more crucial role as chairman of the Caucus Nominating Committee which proposes village officials. Their own experience has also showed them the importance of "full Catholic thinking" which they hope to encourage in others through suggestions of Catholic books and periodicals.

Their own fully-committed Catholicism has its roots deep in the past. It would be impossible to trace back every important event or circumstance which shaped their Catholic lives. One certain mutual influence, however, came from the Benedictines—for Tony at St. Benedict's College in Atchison, Kansas, and for Mariellen at nearby Mt. St. Scholastica. The liturgy; the family spirit of both the Benedictine monks and nuns; the closeness of these religious to their students; courses on the encyclicals and Mystical Body theology—all had a combined impact that sent Tony and Mariellen from college with a clearer vision of the Church and the role of its members.

The Christian Family Movement, YCW, and

#### contact with men like Monsignor

Daniel M. Cantwell, further sharpened that vision. The long hours spent when they were first married discussing with their brothers and sisters and parents every sort of social problem, arguing over articles in *Integrity*, agreeing on the need for Catholic lay leadership—expanded their Catholic thinking still more.

Before the Deerfield crisis, the racial problem had been just one of many social problems for them. It had, in fact, drawn comparatively little of their attention. But out of the full context of their Catholicism, their response might almost have been predicted. By now, of course, the racial problem has left an indelible mark on their consciousness. They faced a problem of community responsibility decisively and courageously. Now they are working and praying for the day when Deerfield may once again face the challenge of integration and this time accept it with a fullness of Christian charity.

## A CASE HISTORY:

# Passing a Fair Housing Law

by George W. Culbertson

ON December 8, 1958, the City Council of Pittsburgh enacted a comprehensive law on fair housing practices by unanimous vote of the nine Councilmen. It was signed by Mayor David D. Lawrence one week later. The only vocal opposition to the passage of the ordinance was the Greater Pittsburgh Board of Realtors, and at the public hearing they admitted that "the weight of evidence favors this bill, and it is the best organized presentation for legislation that we have ever witnessed." How was this achieved? The final drive for legislation took just eight months, but two years' work had preceded this final campaign. This is the story.

In the fall of 1955 the Commission on Human Relations was asked by five private intergroup relations agencies to take the leadership in coordinating the efforts of many

groups and organizations which were concerned about the problem of discrimination in housing. The request was officially accepted by the Commission, and a meeting of 14 agency or group representatives was convened with the proposal that they form an Agency Committee for Intergroup Relations in Housing.

They began working on what was termed a "master plan" to the end that each agency would be making its maximum contribution with a minimum of duplication and overlapping. The Committee did not undertake any projects under its own name or that of the Commission. There was an exchange of information about problems and program so that each agency was fully aware of what was being done by all the others. They gained strength and encouragement from each other and were thus stimulated to do more.

Although this Committee only met five or six times a year they learned to work on a common problem cooperatively, and at the same time each agency maintained its identity and program.

In the spring of 1956 the Com-

MR. CULBERTSON is executive director of Pittsburgh's Commission on Human Relations and last month finished his term of office as president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

mission and the Pittsburgh Presbytery co-sponsored a visit to our city by Morris Milgram. At the Mayor's invitation, some two dozen men from the housing industry came together for lunch and to hear Dr. Milgram explain his development of integrated housing in Philadelphia. The fact that the investor was making money as well as being successful in selling to both white and Negro buyers impressed these builders, brokers, and financiers.

Shortly thereafter, the Commission again called these men together, and they agreed that they would like to try the Milgram Plan in Pittsburgh. This resulted in the formation of the Calumet Corporation for this purpose. They are now building and selling 37 homes, using the quota system developed by Milgram. The important aspect of this, however, is the involvement of lay persons from

the industry and the resulting "education" of these men through action.

ONE OF the things we learned from the housing industry committee was that they did not feel that there was much citizen support for integrated housing in Pittsburgh. The Commission therefore set out to organize a Citizens Committee for Integrated Housing.

As leadership for this group we secured the Mayor and six religious leaders to serve as Honorary Chairmen. These were secured from the highest echelons of the major faiths in Pittsburgh. There were three Active Co-Chairmen selected; one a builder, one a mortgage banker, and the third a religious leader who was also a member of the Commission on Human Relations. On the invitation of these leaders, 140 citizens joined the Committee.

Their first act was publicly to announce their support for integrated housing with particular reference to the development by the Calumet Corporation.

The committee represented a good cross-section of the population, and many persons of high status were among them.

Sub-committees of the Citizens Committee began work on the preparation of educational materials for use with the general population.

One committee prepared a DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLE which began with the words "We Believe" and closed with the words "We Dedicate." This statement was individually signed by the members and then printed in quantity for distribution throughout the city. Another sub-committee prepared a question and answer booklet called "Guideposts for Neighborhood Integration" for distribution. This same committee later prepared a whole kit of materials and has since distributed them to organizations and groups throughout the city.

The significance of the work of this Citizens Committee is found in the official identification of all the major religious faiths in the leadership. Every religious body has separately taken official action by resolution on the question of discrimination in housing. This gave a channel for public expression of these official pronouncements, with each supporting the others. This committee also

involved many people who had not previously been identified with problems of discrimination in housing, thus enlarging the circle of supporters.

In December of 1956 and again in December of 1957, two public hearings were held in Pittsburgh on the subject of housing. The first was conducted by the Governor's Committee on Housing. The Commission and other agencies gave public testimony concerning the problems of discrimination in housing. The second hearing was conducted by the United States Senate Subcommittee on Housing. The Commission prepared a 17-page report which included statements from five other agencies. In both hearings the Commission recommended legislation to outlaw discriminatory practices. These reports were well documented and provided the basis for much study and discussion throughout the community.

Not all of the efforts of the Commission to involve community groups in the program for integrated housing were successful. The most notable and most important exception was the Greater Pittsburgh Board of Realtors.

In 1956 and again in 1957 (after there was change in officers) the Commission proposed to the Board that we form a liaison committee to exchange information and to discuss common problems having to do with housing for minority groups. This they steadfastly refused to do.

Up until the fall of 1957 neither the Commission nor any of the agencies had talked seriously about a local municipal ordinance. Not that it had not been mentioned, but no specific steps were taken. The local branch of the NAACP, in line with the national program, did two things late in the year 1957. They started a committee of lawyers on the task of preparing tentative drafts of legislation; and they began the circulation of an "Open Letter" calling for a local ordinance.

In December, 1957, just after New York City became the first city to pass a fair housing practices law, the Commission met with Mayor Lawrence and told him that Pittsburgh should do likewise. He did not commit himself but asked plenty of questions. Shortly thereafter the Mayor became a candidate for the

LET US  
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MAKES US  
LIVE AMONG  
THE PRESENT  
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NO LONGER  
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TO BE  
MEDIOCRE.  
POPE PIUS XI





primary election for the office of Governor and this provided complications. We knew that there were both advantages and disadvantages in this political situation. One thing became crystal clear: there was a time limit now on our campaign, and it coincided with the Mayor's term of office.

In January, 1958 the Commission asked the NAACP to meet jointly with us to map strategy. It was decided that broad community support would be needed and that none of the existing organizations or groups could properly undertake this task. Neither the NAACP or the Commission

**could very well  
take the responsibility**

for marshalling total community support. We did take the responsibility of convening a meeting for the purpose of organizing a committee for the specific purpose of working for a municipal ordinance and a state law. This committee was formed: the Allegheny County Committee for Fair Housing Practices.

a member of the Commission on Human Relations and now its Chairman; W. Beverly Carter, the publisher of the *Pittsburgh Courier* and a member of the committee to draft the Republican state platform; and Francis C. Shane, Secretary of the Civil Rights Committee of the United Steelworkers of America.

The Allegheny Committee came up with the draft of legislation which eventually became the adopted ordinance of the City. It prepared and gave wide distribution to a pamphlet of questions and answers about the proposed ordinance and the myths which surround the whole idea of integrated housing. The Committee visited the editors and publishers of all the daily newspapers explaining the need for the ordinance and answering questions about the provisions of the proposed ordinance. Two of the three papers gave support to the bill and one remained neutral. Through efforts of this committee the local radio and television outlets were sympathetic.

After the primary election, it was definite that Mayor Lawrence would

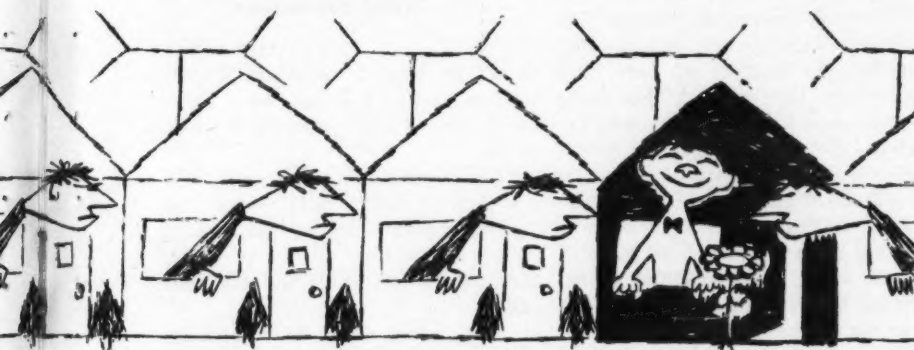
state elections—and he let members of Council know that he favored the bill.

While not directly related to the problem of discrimination in housing, the fact that the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO) Conference was held in Pittsburgh the week before the City Council had scheduled the date of a public hearing on the ordinance, was extremely helpful. The radio, press, and TV coverage of the conference sessions and the appearance of national personalities to speak on intergroup relations subjects set the stage for the public hearing on fair housing practices.

**T**HE PUBLIC hearing before City Council was held November 26. Testimony in support of the ordinance was coordinated by the Allegheny County Committee in the person of Mrs. Salk. She made the opening statement and then introduced each speaker to Council in a parade of 38 persons over a two and one-half hour period. It was a tremendous demonstration of community support, and no politician could do other than go along with what was so obviously a mandate from responsible leadership of the most important segments of community or organizational life. The testimony had previously been duplicated and was available for each member of Council, the working press, and each of the participating organizations.

The Honorary Chairman appeared first to set the moral frame of reference. It was impressive to hear each of these religious leaders step forward and begin his presentation with the words, "I was appointed by the Bishop to represent him as one of the Honorary Chairmen of this Committee. The Roman Catholic Church (or the Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, etc.) has taken official action on the question before you today, and has this to say . . ."

Next came a list of witnesses with supporting evidence of the need for such an ordinance. These included a mortgage banker and real estate broker, a professor of anthropology, the NAACP with two persons giving their experiences in trying to find suitable housing, the Commission with a just-published report on the "Status of Housing of Negroes in the City of Pittsburgh," the Urban



Again, the religious leadership was involved as Honorary Chairmen. The Bishop or highest executive officer of the religious denomination appointed the person to serve. Subcommittees on Membership, By-laws, and Drafting were established. All those individuals and organizations who had been working on the problem of discrimination in housing over the past two years were also brought into this new Committee—but under a different hat. In terms of numbers of individuals involved, this committee never became very large—just about 40 persons—but they represented through their organizations thousands of citizens. The active co-chairmen were people of influence: Mrs. Jonas E. Salk,

be a candidate for Governor in the November election. The officers of the Allegheny Committee and members of the Commission met with the Mayor. He gave a sympathetic ear to the request for his support, but the Committee wisely asked only one commitment and that was that his support be made public at some time before he left the office of Mayor—he, to choose the time. This is described as wise because there is no one quite as qualified as a professional politician to determine the public attitude, especially on controversial issues. As a matter of fact, he never did make a public statement. He did, however, determine the timing for the introduction of the bill before City Council—right after the

League, the Presbytery Council of Industrial and Interracial Relations.

Typical of the kind of testimony given by citizen groups was that by the League of Women Voters. They did a careful analysis of the problem in a two-page document which began:

"The League began its investigation of Fair Housing legislation last March after the topic had been adopted for study at its Annual Meeting by an overwhelming majority of its members. We approached this study as we would the study of any other governmental issue. We wished to see if there was reason for such legislation. With open minds we investigated the population distribution of the city, the effects of segregated housing patterns on education, urban renewal and redevelopment, health, taxes, and finally housing values in changing neighborhoods. As a result of this program we are convinced that our organization, which is interested in good government, must support this legislation."

As has been stated before, the only opposition came from the Greater Pittsburgh Board of Realtors. They had three speakers, following the two and one-half hour testimony of the proponents. The gist of these presentations was that realtors did not oppose integration in housing, but they did oppose law as the means for accomplishing this. They were cross-examined closely by members of City Council, but they knew, and members of the Council knew, that there could only be one result of this hearing. Ten days later they voted unanimously for the ordinance. Only one change was made and this at the request of the Commission on Human Relations. This was to fix the effective date for enforcement of the ordinance as June 1, 1959, in order to give the Commission time to prepare themselves and the community for the administration of the law.

One unplanned dramatic incident occurred during the public hearing. Branch Rickey, Sr., dropped into the Council Chambers to listen and then asked to be heard. As only Mr. Rickey can do, he made a stirring appeal, received an ovation from the audience when he had completed, and made page one in the afternoon paper.

"YOU STAND UP HERE, and you can see it all. The Magic City."

Myriad lights dotted the scene far below, rows of street lights outlining the city's main arteries, tiny dots of light indicating cars moving through the metropolis. This was a beautiful summer night in Birmingham, Alabama. Father George Clements and I were visiting the deep South. This evening we stood at the top of the tower which bears the huge statue of Vulcan, the god of the magic city. Our hosts were two young Negro school teachers.

The one continued, "Funny, I've been up here only once before when we brought students up here. I've never been here at night." But that's not unusual, I thought. I've spent my whole life in Chicago and never been at the top of Tribune Tower or inside the Palmolive Building or McCormick Place. We stood there talking for a quarter of an hour. A dozen other viewers, all white, shared the platform. Finally we began the journey down, always easier than up, down stair after stair, past the thousands of scrawled signs that always find their places in public towers: "J.K. and L. S. 1959" and valentine hearts crudely drawn.

We reached ground level and strolled leisurely across the grass toward the car. "What'll we do now?" It was too early to call it an evening, even for a couple of clergymen. "Well, Father, you could go to the club, and see what real living is like here in Birmingham."

"Oh yeah," I replied. "What's the club?"

FATHER MALLETTE is a Chicago priest. He first appeared in *COMMUNITY* a year ago, describing experiences on another trip made with Father Clements.

## Vulcan's

"I mean *The Club*. That is *the* place. The people who own this town relax there."

"Well, let's go. You three put on your servants' clothes, and maybe I can get you in with me."

We all laughed a little. I was the lone white in our foursome. "But if you all are afraid to go, tomorrow I'm going to ditch you cats and go off on my own. I want to walk inside one of those big hotels and restaurants and

enjoy a little of this  
'white supremacy.'

You know it won't be around too much longer, and as long as I've traveled a thousand miles, I ought to enjoy it while I can."

The other young teacher switched us back to serious talk. "What can we do? That's what I've been saying. There is nothing to do at night, nothing to do but sit and talk and talk."

"No, Jones, we'll do something. We can ride. We'll take a ride and show the Fathers the mansions of Birmingham."

And so we all got in his car and drove off.

"You know, Jones, the Fathers here were all set to go and desegregate our Drive-In tonight, but they're showing a 'B' picture."

"Which drive-in? There are two, aren't there—two where we can go?"

"Oh yeah, there are two, but one only opens when they feel like it."

We talked for a while about there being only one movie house where Negroes could attend a show, and it was on one of the really rundown streets downtown. So instead, we drove up and down the beautiful lanes at the top of the hill, past the sprawling mansions, alongside the

# Magic City

by Rev. Daniel J. Mallette



Father Mallette (left) and Father George Clements visit "Bull" Connor's city of Birmingham, Alabama.

walks that were all empty and gave the impression of a deserted city. I guess it was just in contrast to the streets where the colored populace dwell, streets that were teeming with activity.

Russ asked, "Isn't that the mansion where you used to work, Jones?"

"That's it. I worked there till Mrs. Gardner died. I had the keys. She really trusted me. She was a fine old woman." And he said it with such feeling that I figured we wouldn't kid about that fact.

"Watch your speedometer, Russ. We don't want to get 'Bull' and his men riled up."

"Bull" is Commissioner of Police in the Magic City, and Commissioner of Education, and a lot of other things, I came to learn. I never got to see him, not even his picture. But I did recall that on the first day as we pulled within the city limits of Birmingham, a pleasantly colored sign requested, "Observe our safety laws." And the sign had printed into its metal at the bottom the signature of Eugene "Bull" Connor, just like that. Then I found out that the sign was posted at all the entrances to Birmingham, so I figured that Commissioner Connor was pretty attached to his nick-name, and intended to live up to it.

ONE NIGHT at another teacher's home I heard one of the fac-

tual accounts that indicated a reason for Jones's concern with the speed limit. The evening of a big meeting a teacher active in the "movement" was hustled off to jail by four squads of police, charged with a felony. It cost her husband a lot of lawyers' fees to have her freed, white lawyers' fees. And the movement was pretty shaken.

I'd learned that people don't even mention the NAACP, not even in private conversation. The NAACP is outlawed in Alabama, and I guess even the walls have ears. One of the quickest ways to promotion for a Negro teacher is to be a tipster, an informer.

Connor even gets a lot of Negro votes, of those few able to vote. It's kind of inexplicable. I guess he outfitted some baseball teams in the colored areas or something like that.

Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, for many years leader of integration activities in Birmingham, is leaving for Cincinnati. He was the head of one of the less powerful Negro congregations. He endured bombings, beatings, stabbings, he and his family. How much can one man and his family be asked to stand? It was too bad he was leaving, too bad that he wasn't leaving triumphantly, but apparently things weren't much better.

WE HAD FINISHED the tour of the mansion area, and we headed toward downtown Birmingham.

"What would you say, Russ, do most colored people here hate the whites? I think I would."

Russ mused, and then replied: "It's like this, Father. A lot of people will say the only good white people are over there." I looked to where he was pointing. It was the cemetery. We laughed again.

We passed the auditorium where Nat "King" Cole was beaten years back. We passed "Bull" Connor's headquarters.

"See over there, Father. That's where the Freedom Riders were beaten and clubbed. It took 45 minutes for the police to turn out for the call." I could have walked the distance in a minute. "That's why we probably won't have any more Freedom Riders in Alabama. These guys don't play."

We stopped at a Tastee-Freez, a Negro Tastee-Freez.

"At least, we've been a little bit brave," I said. "We had lunch at the Motel together. And now we're having a Tastee-Freez together. Must be against some of 'Bull's' laws. And I know what would happen if he came along now. You three would probably say, 'No, Boss, that white man's not with us.'"

We hadn't stirred up much interest at the

## Negro motel, or here either, where

about 50 Negro teenagers stood around making teen age talk in the parking lot.

We drove around some more. We went past the beautiful buildings of the University of Alabama in Birmingham.

"Do you realize that with this big university here, paid for by my tax money, that I have to save and save to go to Chicago or Detroit in the summer to get my Master's?" Russ said this bitterly.

"We could be going here nights," Jones added.

"Ten years ago, I would have had my degree."

I asked about the college for Negroes, their alma mater. Russ promised to show it to be tomorrow. (It was a depressing, tired place, accredited by the State of Alabama, and by the State of Alabama only.)

"That's why you can't stir up these high school kids. I've been teaching them for years. But honest-





Then a leader of integration activities in Birmingham, Alabama, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth (right) shakes hands with Rev. Martin Luther King at a 1956 meeting. Now Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth lives in Cincinnati.

ly, their only hope is to get out. I sort of wish I had gotten out a long time ago."

Then I mentioned that the home of the teacher where we had had dinner was a finer home than I had ever been in. "In Chicago, that place would run \$50,000. Things aren't so bad when a fellow can live in a home like that. No wonder there isn't much strength in the 'movement,'" I said half facetiously.

That really struck Russ, and the next day he took me up and down the dirty back roads of Birmingham. Facing the street would be a row of poor cottages, decent enough, but then hidden away behind were hundreds and hundreds of ramshackle shacks without running water. After we had covered a score of such roads, I feared for the springs in his car and assured him, "Enough. I believe you."

I could believe a statistic which said less than half the Negroes of Birmingham have inside toilets and running water.

"There is plenty of trouble up North," I said. Then I talked about Chicago's poor housing, about the Harrison High School riots, the Rainbow Beach wade-ins.

"But it's different, Father. It's intangible." Russ paused. "Like this afternoon when we drove to Montgomery. We couldn't stop any place. I remember driving up North along the highways. Man, it just meant so much to be able to stop and rest and

get a malted milk or cup of coffee."

"What about gas stations?" I asked. "I haven't noticed many where they've got white and colored signs for the rest-rooms."

"That's it," said Jones. "Unless you're in a colored station, they tell you they haven't got a rest room for you. I heard that you can legally drive away then."

"Without paying?"

"Without paying."

"I wonder!" replied doubting Russ.

"Do you have any colored policemen up here?"

"Are you kidding?" said Jones. Then he told the story of a policeman grabbing a teacher and dragging him by his belt to the paddy wagon, then throwing him into the wagon; all because he wouldn't say "Sir," because "he didn't know how to talk to a white man."

"What you should do is go to Atlanta," Jones interjected.

"Yeah, Atlanta is like New York, the New York of the South. They have Negro police there. There's real progress in Atlanta." I had heard that several times now. Someday I hope to get to Atlanta.

**T**HE NEXT day we had to leave. Russ took us to have the car checked over at a modern service station in the colored section of town. The townner had plenty of money, walked around with a gun at his waist. "Tough neighborhood. Lots of stickups. Lot of people with no money. Lot of wandering tough teen agers."

We talked with him about relatives and neighbors who had moved to Chicago. "One fellow had ten kids. Up and moved right there on Chicago's West Side. Guess he's doing all right. My son is going up there."

"So is my son. Going to stay with his aunt and go to some famous shop training school."

And so it went.

We headed over to where Russ worked in the summers, a recreation center for Negroes.

Scores of little kids were inside playing games. A group of big boys just stood around outside. It was too hot to use the outdoor basketball courts.

Russ told his co-worker he'd be back in a little while, and we headed to his home. His mother had pre-

pared us a fine lunch, and we said good-bye. We had to figure there would be no place to stop till we got a long way from Birmingham.

It had been a fine visit. All we had done was talk and ride around. But you can read about the South, and it's not really the same till you've been there.

The god Vulcan hovers over the Magic City. But people aren't made of iron. A lot of people have been crushed or have had the courage squeezed out of them. But something is bound to happen.

As we drove out from Birmingham, I turned to look again at one of the signs with the "Bull" signature. I thought of Langston Hughes' poem about the fate of a "dream deferred." Russ and Jones, their dream was deferred. Probably we could say it, too, was drying up

**like "a raisin in the sun."**

Then I thought about the teen agers we had seen, the little kids in the recreation center. If their dream keeps being deferred, it surely will explode. I'm surprised it hasn't really exploded yet.

"Kind of makes me ashamed of being white," I said to my companion.

"The South is really a mess," he commented.

As we got going on the highway, I closed the subject of the South and race, which we had talked about so much and so long, by saying, "Yeah, the South is one hell of a mess." ■



Father Mallette with Birmingham teacher—whose identity is disguised to protect him against possible reprisals for his remarks to Father Mallette in the accompanying article. (Names in the article are pseudonyms.)

# BOOK REVIEWS

**RACE AND SCIENCE, in the UNESCO series, "The Race Question in Modern Science."** (Columbia University Press, New York 27, New York. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by Joseph C. Bronars, C.M.

ALL ELEVEN studies collected in this volume have already been published as individual monographs in UNESCO's program on Race and Culture. It represents perhaps the most exhaustive up-to-date summary of the findings of the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, psychiatry, psychology, history, and genetics on the question of race, with the most impressive contributions coming from the anthropologists and the psychologists. The consecutive reading of some of the reports of the anthropologists produces almost a cumulative sense of horror at the inhuman consequences of racism and racial prejudice, in spite of, or perhaps because of, their completely unemotional recital of facts. The psychologists marshal evidence convincing enough to destroy forever the myth of inherent mental inferiority of certain ethnic groups.

This reviewer was strongly tempted to decry the illusory hope, illustrated in parts of this volume, of finding an answer to the race question in these sciences alone, without the necessary recourse to philosophy and theology, for knowledge of what *ought* to be, since science by its very nature is limited to describing what *actually* is. Such criticism, however, would be capricious, for two reasons. First, because each of these scientists goes beyond science when he condemns racism and prejudice, and thus does appeal to philosophy or theology for standards of judgment, whether he would call it that or not. And secondly, because in addition to this scientific approach, UNESCO is also sponsoring the series *The Race Question and Modern Thought*, indicating a recogni-

tion that science alone is not adequate to answer the question.

FATHER BRONARS, formerly at DePaul University in Chicago, is now teaching at St. Mary's Seminary, Perryville, Missouri.

**PERE JACQUES** by Michael Carrouges. 269 pages. (MacMillan Company, New York 11, New York. \$4.95.)

Reviewed by Dorothy Besol

THE SUBJECT of this new book, Pere Jacques, was ordained a diocesan priest in France but for years the love of the contemplative life haunted him, and he yearned for the day that the quiet of the cloister would envelop him. After many years it did, but only for a short time. He entered the Carmelite cloister, but was soon made headmaster of a boys' school, a school which during the 1942-44 German occupation became a relief center for the victims of Nazism.

Pere Jacques' work here led to his arrest by the Gestapo, and he spent years in various Nazi prison camps where he witnessed almost unbelievable atrocities. Because he had learned well the lesson of using all the events of life to further God's kingdom, he lived a priestly life even in these surroundings. This, coupled with his ready humor, make him a vibrant and attractive personality.

Carrouges' biography is a stirring account of man's love for man in the midst of man's inhumanity to man. The biographer overdoes warnings to the reader on the danger of considering Pere Jacques' frequent, pious thoughts as the whole man; in the early portion of the book this is quite distracting. Fortunately he subject, and the latter portion is very soon ceases this cautious treatment of his positive.

**RESIDENCE AND RACE** by Davis McEntire. (University of California Press, Berkeley 4, California. \$6.00.)

Reviewed by Mary Dolan

THIS NEW BOOK is the most complete work available on residential segregation. Written by the director of the Commission on Race and Housing, an independent, private citizens' group formed in 1955 to study this problem, it summarizes both previous studies in the field and special studies done for the Commission.

The serious student or the active worker in this difficult field will find little that is new, but much to confirm his own study and experience. Furthermore he will find the book a great help: for the first time all available material is in one place and conveniently arranged.

To the non-specialist (most whites are in this category) much here would be news—for instance, that "non-white families, on the average, obtain less space and a poorer quality of dwellings than do white families, even when they pay the same rents or purchase prices," and that "the paramount issue is segregation. . . . In large measure the housing disadvantage of minority groups, especially of Negroes, is traceable directly to restrictions on their competitive freedom." That these people will ever learn these facts by reading *Residence and Race* is, of course, unlikely. They must be led to interest in the issues through secondary sources. All who are working to end racial barriers in residential segregation now have an excellent tool to help in reaching such people.

Samples of the 20 chapter subjects explored are: "Population Distribution and Trends," "Social and Economic Consequences of Residential Segregation," "The Housing Building Industry," "Federal Housing Programs: A General View," "Conditions and Prospects for Housing Desegregation."

FROM "RESIDENCE AND RACE":

*Rarely do whites have opportunity to know Negroes as individual personalities or to share experiences with them; they see them only in the mass, not as persons but as Negroes. Most whites acquire their attitudes toward minority groups not from actual contacts with members of these groups but from contact with prevailing attitudes toward them. . . . A revealing instance is described in a report from Fisk University.*

*A Negro property owner applied to the Nashville zoning board for a waiver to construct a hotel in a racially mixed residential area. Two groups of home owners, one white and one Negro, appeared before the board. The spokesman for the white group bitterly attacked the Negro group, presuming that it had come to support the waiver request of the Negro property owner. When the spokesman for the Negro group also opposed the waiver, the whites stared in amazement. After the hearing they surrounded the Negroes as they the latter were men from Mars. In the absence of communication, the whites had no conception of Negroes as home owners like themselves.*



## news briefs

### Reports Voting Rights Denied in First of Civil Rights Series

WASHINGTON, D.C. In a report charging denial of voting rights to considerable numbers of southern Negroes, the United States Commission on Civil Rights urged action from congress to remedy the situation.

Congress was called upon by the Commission to enact legislation forbidding states to use racial grounds as reason for interfering with voting.

The report, entitled "The right to vote," submitted September 9 to the president and congress, is the first in a series of five prepared by the Commission on civil rights—voting, housing, education, employment, and administration.

### Georgia Tech Integrates

ATLANTA, Georgia. For the first time in its 73-year history, Georgia Tech this fall accepted Negro students. There was an outward casualness in the event which belied a secret report of possible trouble.

University President Edwin Harrison, on a tip from Governor Ernest Vandiver about danger of "outside" agitators, tightened security rules governing news reporters and photographers.

No sign of this tension was evident when the three Negro youths arrived for their physical checkups. Only a few students and newsmen were on hand.

Tech had made the decision to accept qualified Negro applicants without requiring them to go through federal-court procedures as did the two Negroes accepted by the University of Georgia last January.

Of the 15 Negroes who applied for admission to Tech the three who finally made the grade were Ford Greene, son of a basketball coach; Ralph A. Long, Jr., son of an elementary-school principal; and Lawrence Williams, a chauffeur's son. The three will live off the campus in their homes instead of in the dormitories.

### Names Thurgood Marshall Federal Judge

WASHINGTON, D.C. Thurgood Marshall, Negro integration leader in civil-rights for Negroes since 1938 as the NAACP's counsel, has been nominated by President Kennedy for the United States Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York.

Although not unexpected, the appointment was not announced until Congress was nearing the closing hours of its 1961 session. Marshall's nomination must be confirmed by the Senate, where it goes first to the Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, long known as one of the most relentless Southern opponents of integration.

Meanwhile on October 24, Marshall was sworn in as judge on a recess appointment. This step was necessary for Marshall to serve on the federal appellate bench until the Senate acts on the nomination next year.

### President Praises School Desegregation

WASHINGTON, D.C. President John F. Kennedy in a statement praising peaceful integration of many schools in the South called it a "dramatic demonstration of United States progress in improving the position of American Negroes."

In his message President Kennedy congratulated Dallas, Texas, and Little Rock, Arkansas, as well as communities in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia for admitting Negro students to previously all-white schools with no disorder.

"Most of all," he stated, "I would like to congratulate the children of both races for their mutual tolerance, good will and exemplary conduct."

### Ban Louisiana School Closing Law

NEW ORLEANS, Louisiana. A three-judge Federal court here in August repudiated the state's school closing law which allowed citizens of school districts to vote to abandon public schools faced with desegregation orders.

The law, a "transparent artifice" to deprive Negroes of their right to attend integrated schools, is constitutionally self-defeating, said the judges, all three of whom are from New Orleans.

### School for Handicapped Accepts Negro

TAMPA, Florida. The Bayside School for The Handicapped became Hillsborough County's first white school to desegregate when Benjamin Lowry, eight-year-old son of the Rev. A. Leon Lowry was enrolled this fall. The boy is deaf.

Dr. Lowry is the president of the Florida NAACP.

### "40 and 8" Clings to "White Only"

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana. As its 42nd annual convention in September came to a close, the 40 and 8 group of the American Legion still refused to make any change in its "white-only" qualification for membership.

All attempts to wipe the qualification clause from its constitution were voted down by delegates of the 80,000-member veterans' group. The Legion itself has forbidden the 40 and 8 to use the Legion emblem until the membership qualification is changed.



## Liturgical Conference Backs Desegregation in Action as Well as by Resolution

**OKLAHOMA CITY, Oklahoma.** This city, which has been a focus of sit-in demonstrations in restaurants for more than a year, played host to the 1961 North American Liturgical Conference in August.

Participants in the meeting were urged to back racial integration in actions as well as words during the four-day convention. The program called the attention of delegates to the fact that many downtown restaurants in Oklahoma City are segregated. Delegates were asked to make use of a list of integrated restaurants prepared by the local committee, which was "anxious, as is the Liturgical Conference, to lend encouragement to business concerns which are free of segregation policies and practices."

During the course of the meeting, the Liturgical Conference board called the attention of the delegates to the integration issue in a specially prepared resolution. "Justice and charity," the board said, impelled it to take this action.

When some delegates inadvertently patronized a segregated restaurant near the Municipal Auditorium during the first days of the meeting a picket line was promptly set up by local sit-in leaders, and the flow of dele-

gates to the eating place stopped entirely.

Oklahoma City was the scene of Father Robert G. McDole's participation in sit-in demonstrations during the past year (March '61, Sept. '61 *COMMUNITY*). When Father McDole was transferred from Oklahoma City at its own request, other priests joined with clergy of various denominations in the protests. As a result of their activities the integration of several restaurants has been accomplished.

Bishop Victor J. Reed of Oklahoma City and Tulsa stated at the time that "those who seek equality of race in use of public services are simply seeking justice."

## Survey Racial Policies in Kentucky Drive-in Theaters and Eating Places

**FRANKFORT, Kentucky.** Of the 87 drive-in theaters in Kentucky that replied to a questionnaire sent them by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, 61 stated that they admit Negroes, 26 that they do not. Theaters with a desegregation policy, according to the theater managers, have had no misunderstandings or incidents.

Eleven of the 61 admitting Negroes have some segregation of facilities within the theater. In some cases rest-room facilities were kept separate; in others, areas



Father Robert G. McDole on picket line  
last Christmas in Oklahoma City.

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where Negroes might park were limited. Normal concession-stand service to Negroes was reported by all.

Most of the theaters said that the desegregation policy began with their opening.

Survey results showed that Eastern Kentucky had the least discrimination, with the 26 theaters in the Seventh and Eighth Congressional districts admitting Negroes. Western Kentucky's First and Second districts showed 12 theaters out of 29 admitting Negroes. Only three of Jefferson County's (Louisville and environs) drive-ins desegregated.

In research conducted in nine Kentucky cities, the Commission also has established that most eating places serving both Negroes and whites have suffered no loss in business as a result of racial integration, and most of the establishments interviewed stated they did not expect to change their policy of non-discrimination in the near future. A majority of them have been integrated for over a year.

The Commission intends to issue the report to managers of eating places that are still segregated, as well as to community organizations and civic leaders, according to executive director Galen Martin of Frankfort.

Forty-one managers reported no loss of white customers as a result of integration; three said their losses have been inconsequential; two felt that business had been hurt. The majority said that integration did not seem to have bothered their employees; only a few complaints were noted.

Most of those interviewed said that the policy worked out "better than expected."



### Integrate Pupils, Not Teachers

**MOUND CITY, Illinois.** Previously separate white and Negro schools of Mound City were integrated 100 per cent this fall. However, it was learned that the local school board contemplated dismissing all the Negro teachers, an intention which the state's American Civil Liberties Union has protested.

### Justice Department Appoints Negro

**WASHINGTON, D.C.** Appointment by Attorney General Robert Kennedy of William E. Fowler, Jr., 39-year-old Ohio Negro, as an attorney for the Justice Department's organized crime and racketeering section, has been announced. Fowler, at one time chief prosecutor for Akron, is a former Ohio assistant attorney general.



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